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NATIONAL REVIEW

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December 14, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Death of an Investigation

*The Wheels of Justice
Stop
for Adam Clayton Powell Jr.*

Articles and Reviews by ANTHONY LEJEUNE
JAMES BURNHAM • RUSSELL KIRK • SOL STEIN
FRANK S. MEYER • RAYMOND ENGLISH • JOHANNES EFF

For the Record

Harold E. Stassen, who recently bought a home in Valley Forge, is getting little encouragement in running for Governor of Pennsylvania. He did not receive a single vote in a poll of Republican Party state committeemen and county chairmen....Conservative Republicans in Ohio who in voting for Lausche last year voted conservative rather than Republican, have been rebuked by GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn. (A Republican Senator from Ohio would have given the GOP control of the upper house).

Most of the Germans still living in Communist Poland are rushing to leave the country before the repatriation agreement with West Germany expires at the end of the year. The loss of experienced German coal miners in what used to be German Silesia will be a serious blow to the hard-pressed Polish economy....The number of East German refugees seeking asylum in West Germany rose from an average of 4,500 weekly to upwards of 6,000 in the last week of November.... Insight into a police state: Of the 68 officials whose execution in the past 20 years was confirmed by Soviet authorities last week, 18 were high-ranking secret police officers.

The American Council of Christian Churches will counter the propaganda offensive of the National Council of Churches by sending a delegation of anti-Communist clergymen to the Far East when the pro-coexistence NCC dispatches its churchmen to Red China. (It was the National Council of Churches which sponsored the visit to this country a year ago of Metropolitan Nicolai)....When Australian student Greg O'Dwyer asked the Chinese Communists how they could contend there were no classes on Chinese trains when in fact accommodations ranged from luxurious sleepers to wooden benches, he was told: "Some people prefer to sit on the wooden benches, and others prefer to travel in compartments like yours."

A small anti-Communist foundation (The Christian Form, 2200 "R" St. NW, Washington, DC) got a quarter million Americans to stand in tribute to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters at half-time ceremonies at Saturday football games during November....Look for a new Khrushchev silhouette. Nikita has ordered an Italian winter wardrobe complete with narrow trouser legs and slim pointed Italian shoes.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the second and third weeks in August, by National Weekly, Inc. Copyrighted 1957 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:

211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES: Twenty-five cents a copy, \$8.00 a year, \$15.00 for two years. Foreign, \$10.00 a year; Canada, \$9.00 a year.

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The WEEK

● The attempted assassination of Sukarno has all the look of an "operation" by the Central Intelligence Agency: everyone got killed except the appointed victim.

● In a speech defending his acceptance of the recent Kremlin-dictated manifesto of the Communist nations, Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka sharply attacked "Western capitalists, press organs and imperialist monopolist circles" for trying to use credits granted to Poland as a wedge for altering Polish policy. All Western funds granted to Poland, Gomulka assured a conference of Party leaders, will be used only for building Communism at home and supporting Soviet world policy. Simultaneously, the Polish delegation now in Washington was finding many State Department ears receptive to Poland's demand for \$300 million more in U.S. aid.

● Do tanks à la Clinton and bayonets à la Little Rock change hearts and minds? According to George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion (the Gallup Poll to you), yes, gradually. But *not* in the direction intended by the statesmen who command the tanks and bayonets. In February 1956, the Institute says, 80 per cent of a representative sample of Southern whites disapproved the Supreme Court's "integration" decision, as against 83 per cent today; 16 per cent approved, as against 15 per cent today; 4 per cent had no opinion, as against 2 per cent today. "Events of the last two years," the Institute wearily concludes, "have served to widen the gap that exists between the white and Negro races in the South." Well, as we are always telling people, we live and don't learn.

● The Negroes of New Jersey pretty clearly voted Democratic last month (as most whites did), but just the same, the AFL-CIO Executive Committee is jittery over the prospects that Republican designs on the Negro vote will pay off. Accordingly, the AFL-CIO Political Action Committee has launched a "special" educational program to persuade Northern Negroes that Little Rock notwithstanding, the Democratic Party is their Party. The Republicans have more to do if they want the labor vote. But never fear: Mr. Justice Warren can undoubtedly be prevailed upon to oblige by calling, say, right to work legislation unconstitutional. All someone has to do,

presumably, is complain that such legislation makes him feel unequal.

● Last week, the non-Communist candidate for a place on the executive committee of England's strategic and Communist-led Electric Trade Union received 300 more votes than his Communist opponent. Whereupon the Communists discounted 300-plus anti-Communist votes, and declared their brother-in-ideology the victor. The English public has raised rather a fuss, so the union has passed a new rule, to guard against this kind of thing in future. Henceforward, the three Communist members of the five-man subcommittee (which handles union affairs from day to day) will *appoint* the other two. In short, the machinery is pretty well geared to perpetuating the Communist hold over the British electrical industry.

● However guilty of lassitude, pettifoggery, inefficiency or confusion, our defense planners were not proved wrong by Sputnik as far as their basic approach to the guided missile is concerned. That approach has been to encourage simultaneous research and development, to select from a variety of models the best, and to produce it. Was the decision to proceed with mass production of Jupiter and Thor a departure from this policy? Or was the decision made because our intelligence service persuaded us that however imperfect Jupiter and Thor, and however superior other models near completion may be, we cannot afford to wait, things being as they are? We do not know. We approve of a crash program in missilery, but hope that the Defense Department has not panicked into indiscriminate production.

● Do nations own the outer space above them as they own the ground beneath them? Concretely, does the USSR violate our territory every time a Sputnik whizzes past? No, answers a Russian lawyer writing in *Soviet Rossuja*, because the satellite does not pass over countries at all; what happens is that the countries pass under the satellite. And the *London Economist* comments: "This piece of applied relativity . . . may go down in the annals of international oneupmanship as the Sputnik ploy. . . . It all depends on what you mean by 'moving.' If . . . because the satellite travels in its fixed orbit, the earth must be held responsible for all the moving that goes on. . . . Soviet citizens who get run over by [street cars] had better prepare themselves to be charged with assaulting a stationary object." By this reasoning, adds the *Economist*, ". . . there would, because of the curvature of the earth, be huge cake-shaped wedges of space in between that belonged to nobody. . . . It is a fearful prospect; ninety or a hundred states, all eager to stick imaginary flags in large chunks of nothing."

● The reason why we dislike professional altruists is not that they aspire to do good, but that they ordinarily insist on doing it with money taken by force (via taxation or inflation) from other people. Mr. William L. Graham of 1957 Easy Street, Wichita, Kansas, is, however, a do-gooder whom we can praise without qualification. With \$250,000 in cash which he has raised by purely voluntary means (he even put up \$25,000 of it out of his own pocket), Mr. Graham, an oil man, has recently returned to India to engage in a little foreign aid enterprise of his own devising. He plans to lend the \$250,000 to young Indian capitalists—on a fifty-fifty profit-sharing basis—to start or expand their own private businesses. The funds will be handled by a Kansas corporation called Private Enterprise, Inc. Applications for loans may be made through the Indian Chamber of Commerce.

● The Indonesian crisis is mounting toward explosive levels. President Sukarno is evidently trying to restore both his own prestige and the jerry-built nation's dissolving unity by provoking an anti-Dutch blowup. The agitation over Dutch-held Irian (western New Guinea) was followed by a mysterious episode of grenade-throwing at a school where Sukarno was present; and that by a boycott and strike against all Dutch businesses, which still are the foundation of Indonesia's economy. The Communists, egging him along a course that they know can end only in the shattering of an independent Indonesia, prepare to pick up the pieces.

● When New Zealand's Labor Party was returned to power last week, after eight years in the opposition, the rejected Nationalist Party cried foul. Labor "bought" the election the Nationalists wailed, by promising a \$280 individual tax rebate next February. This promise undoubtedly influenced many voters. But the fact remains that the Nationalist Party had been losing strength since the early 50's—since it became apparent that, its election promises notwithstanding, it intended to perpetuate, and in certain cases increase, the statist program the Labor government had conducted between 1935 and 1949. The conservative credo these days seems to be, "After you've licked them, join them!"

● At an international seminar held in Tokyo, Dr. Vibul Thamavit, a professor from Thailand, looking forward to the triumph of egalitarianism predicted that, the way things are going, "everyone will look alike in a kind of world-wide Utopia by the year 2500." It may sound like Utopia to Professor Thamavit, but, in our troublesome way, we can see problems ahead. How is a God-fearing husband going to know whether it's his wife he's kissing or the cutie

next door? And what about the parent trying to decide which child to spank for snitching the cookies? Congress will have to brand the President to make sure he's not Stalin the XXII slipped over on us by the Kremlin. As for the NAACP and ADL, is Dr. Thamavit trying to drive them out of business?

● The nine California Communist leaders who were awarded a retrial by the Supreme Court will go free. The Justice Department says it will not try them again because of "inability to satisfy evidentiary requirements." In hailing this victory for a "more democratic America," the *Daily Worker* urged that we go the rest of the way and repeal the Smith Act itself. We might as well—for all the good it is doing these days as a bulwark against internal subversion.

● *Behind the Communist Line*, monthly bulletin of "International Research in Communist Techniques," calls attention to an unprecedented phenomenon. In every previous year since 1917, it has been *de rigueur* for every Soviet writer to publish a ritual panegyric on the anniversary of the November insurrection. This year the Soviet journals print pieces by obscure nobodies, but not a single line by any well known writer. Even the writers most famous abroad, and therefore most conspicuous for their absence, are silent; Sholokhov, for example, Dudintsev, Fedin, Leonov, even the world-roaming, word-spouting Ilya Ehrenberg. Such silence, so widespread that it must be deliberate, becomes more eloquent than any words they might have written.

● Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* calls on the nation to "consider more flexible approaches" in its policy toward Red China, in order "to meet the realities of the world." We should treat "recognition" of Red China as a matter for "negotiation," though not "pell mell," since that would "stagger our Asian friends." Mr. Acheson's policy of daring nothing until the dust settled was a "sensible approach." The fact that it didn't get us very far was not the fault of the policy but that of "party politics, then the Korean War." But now the dust is settling, we have "leashed" Chiang Kai-shek, and "it is increasingly apparent Chiang will never be able to return" to the mainland. In fact, "he is almost surely not destined to go back," and this means it is time for us to adopt another sensible approach, like Acheson's. Our goal: to help the Chinese "find their own Gomulka"—which is why we must recognize Red China. And if you do not follow all this, you are just plain crazy. Over here at NATIONAL REVIEW we have no trouble understanding Mr. Sulzberger at all, and just as soon as we get these damned grasshoppers out of the way, we'll tell you just how (Shh!) we intend to deploy our troops at Waterloo. . . .

The President's Opportunity

The United States today confronts three awkward realities: 1) A series of domestic and international situations that require firm and speedy Presidential action. 2) The certainty that Mr. Eisenhower will for some while be unable to prepare for and make the policy decisions required. 3) The possibility that a future attack may mean Mr. Eisenhower's total incapacity.

Mr. Eisenhower should, we believe, face up to these realities, and embrace the opportunity for a step that would be a creative triumph for our constitutional tradition, the best practical solution for our immediate problems, and the soundest preparation for the more serious crisis that would arise if his health should break down completely at some future date. Mr. Eisenhower should, we contend, ignore the present calls upon him to resign or withdraw from the office of President, but should declare his temporary "Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of said Office." He should, to that end, proclaim under Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution that those powers and duties "shall devolve on the Vice President." And he should either specify the period of this "devolvement" (one month, two

months, or whatever), or make the latter terminable, at his own discretion, by *himself*.

This solution is in accord with the words and spirit of the Constitution, the intent of the Founding Fathers, and the needs of the present situation. The mooted idea that Mr. Nixon, once having taken over the reins, would refuse to hand them back, is an absurd bugaboo that no one should take seriously. In any case, Mr. Nixon would not by this procedure become President. He would only, as the Constitution provides, "discharge the Powers and Duties" of the Presidency—that is, he would become "acting President."

If this course were followed, the necessary tasks of the Presidential office would be actively carried out, while Mr. Eisenhower completed his recovery under physical conditions that could be expected to speed it. The continuity of the elected Eisenhower Administration would not be broken either in form or fact, since Mr. Nixon's decisions as acting President would be implicitly bounded by his knowledge that he was functioning merely as a temporary deputy. And—most important of all—both the constitutional procedure and Nixon himself would be tested in advance for possible service in a graver emergency of the future that would permit neither experimentation nor delay.

Let us finally note that in reality the present alternative is not the full constitutional functioning of Mr. Eisenhower in his office—which is physically excluded—but a committee government (regency or collective leadership) without constitutional warrant, without electoral sanction, and without much likelihood of providing able guidance of the nation's affairs.

Mr. Kennan Forgets Himself

We have often disagreed with George Kennan, as we had occasion to do in one of last week's editorials, but we had never before been shocked by him. Indeed, we had assumed that two decades of professional diplomacy were enough to neutralize anyone's shock potential. But we underestimated, once more, the lengths to which Liberal ideology can drive a man, even such a mild, scholarly, somewhat pompous chap as Mr. Kennan seems to be.

Consider. Mr. Kennan is in England this year, as a lecturer at Oxford University. On December 1 he gave the fourth in a series of talks that are being broadcast—so that the Continent as well as Britain can hear them—by the British Broadcasting Corporation. In this fourth talk, Mr. Kennan, a prominent American citizen talking to foreigners in foreign lands, called on the European nations to refuse to accept the proposal that his country will make at



Kreuttner

"All the lady said to the gentlemen passing her on the street was, 'Come up and see me some time!' She was merely Advocating an Abstract Doctrine. Case dismissed."

the December 16 NATO conference to establish missile bases on West European soil.

We do not question Mr. Kennan's right to differ with a strategic policy of this sort. But Mr. Kennan is widely considered a sort of *éminence grise* of American foreign policy. We shall be interested under the circumstances to hear what comments Mr. Kennan's many and most voluble admirers make on the propriety of using the communications facilities of a foreign nation to attack, before a foreign audience, the key proposal that his government will bring to a conference upon the success of which the future of the West may quite literally depend.

We hope Mr. Kennan's audience will reflect on the fact that exactly the same advice that Mr. Kennan was giving, was simultaneously being given, to much the same audience and in much the same words, through another central broadcasting system, to Europe's east.

Any Day Now

The move to rehabilitate Oppenheimer has grown in the past weeks from (to paraphrase an American historian on the subject of advertising) a chatty little preoccupation of full-time partisans to a cosmic urge. The reason why Dr. Oppenheimer is less a security risk in proportion as the Soviet threat becomes more critical escapes us this week as it did last week, and the week before. We are not, moreover, learning very much from the *tergiversations* of Oppenheimer's choirboys. Last week, for example, Mr. Tex McCrary of New York, in his passion to compare Oppenheimer with the rising sun and the aurora borealis, consistently referred to him as the "father of the hydrogen bomb," when it is well known that the only thing he did in connection with the hydrogen bomb was oppose it.

McCrary went on to insinuate that professional jealousy might well have motivated Dr. Edward Teller (who *did* develop the H-Bomb) when he testified before the Gray Board in 1956 that but for Oppenheimer's opposition to it, the H-Bomb might have been completed four years earlier. The only reason for Oppenheimer's dismissal, on McCrary's showing, was that he had "friends among Communist scientists." Hell, what's so bad about that, said Dr. Donald Hughes, director of the Brookhaven National Laboratories; I just got back from Russia and I would have to say I have Communist scientist friends. Everybody agreed nothing was wrong with that; one inferred, in fact, that it would be a queer person indeed who *didn't* have a Communist scientist friend. Some philistine telephoned in at one point and said Oppenheimer hadn't been ousted because he had Communist friends, but because he had had a Communist

wife and a Communist mistress. Well, McCrary commented, he married his mistress, didn't he? Dr. Hughes and McCrary's son and Jinx all agreed, and the general conclusion was that if the United States survives her present crisis, it will be because Dr. Oppenheimer will come to our rescue—not that he really should, because our society is not necessarily worth the exertions of so noble a man.

Not all the pro-Oppenheimer salvos are being fired at so vulgar a level. They come from all quarters, and from the highest counsels. No less influential a figure than Dr. I. I. Rabi, chief Presidential advisor on matters of nuclear science, whose office is in the White House itself, told a reporter from the *Times* of London that America will finally have excreted McCarthyism only "when [Oppenheimer] is returned to more active government service."

We say Robert Oppenheimer owes America a very considerable debt, and the test of his patriotism is his willingness to discharge it—by speaking, with that candor whose conspicuous absence persuaded a conscientious tribunal to rule against him, about his previous involvement with our enemies.

Calling The ACLU

One would think that enough weeks had gone by to permit even those who have other things on their mind, to focus attention on the meaning of Dean Clarence Manion's extraordinary collision with the Mutual Network six weeks ago. Consider the stark fact: an address by Herbert Kohler, president of the Kohler Company of Wisconsin, was censored. It was *literally* censored. It was *kept off the air* as the result of pressure from the United Automobile Workers of America.

We know of no sharper identification of the source of bare-knuckled power in America than this incident. Clarence Manion, former Dean of the law school of Notre Dame, former chairman of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relationships, and one of conservatism's most literate and responsible spokesmen, launched a weekly radio program in 1954. For 159 consecutive weeks he and dozens of guests spoke on contemporary issues, taking sides, in the course of that period, on just about every contemporary controversy. The broadcasts were made through the facilities of the Mutual Network, which was retained on a commercial basis, and the program went out to 70-odd stations. Not a single protest was voiced, no impediment was ever put in the way of the Manion broadcasts.

But on October 20, Dean Manion's guest was to be Mr. Kohler and Mr. Kohler elected to speak, as one would expect he would, on the behavior of the UAW during the Kohler strike. Mutual, having had a

look at the script, said No. It couldn't broadcast the program because it might be sued. After prolonged negotiations, Mr. Kohler volunteered to indemnify Mutual and every station **that broadcast the script**, against suit by the UAW: still Mutual refused to let the speech go on the air.

In some undeterminable ratio, Mutual and the UAW between them share the guilt, the one for cowardice, the other for intimidation. But the objective result was a scandalous suppression of the point of view of a beleaguered industrialist. And on phony grounds: One hundred thousand copies of the suppressed speech have since been circulated, and no one has been sued.

We commend the case to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Again the Double Standard

There is currently in progress a perfervid propaganda campaign against President Fulgencio Batista of Cuba. This campaign, originating among the followers of Fidel Castro (now operating as a guerrilla in the Sierra Maestre mountains of southeast Cuba), and supported from one flank by the Communists and from another by many of our own Liberals, has successfully exploited the columns of our principal newspapers. Batista is accused of tyranny, thought control, terror, political murders and so on. Fidel is pictured as the coming democratic hero, and the savior of his people.

NATIONAL REVIEW's feeling about the Batista regime is considerably short of approval. Still, we can see by the record that he has proved a solid politico-military ally of the United States, and has on the whole been a good host to U.S. business and U.S. citizens. These are the primary legitimate concerns of the government in forming a political judgment on another government. Moreover, it is our impression that the Fidel movement is rather less imposing than our press is suggesting.

But at the moment we are pondering another facet. At last month's meeting in Washington of the Inter-American Press Association, Batista was loudly condemned for undemocratic conduct and press censorship. At that same meeting, Fidel Castro's agents (openly wearing Fidel's "26th of July Movement" badges), distributed to the delegates copies of a leaflet now being distributed in Cuba. The leaflet calls for an immediate mass campaign of arson and sabotage, directed against barns, tobacco drying sheds, and particularly against the sugar cane (Cuba's economic life-blood) that for the next month, just prior to harvest, is highly incendiary. (Nothing is said about attacking Batista's troops or installations.)

Instructions are given, with illustrations, for home-

made explosive and incendiary bombs. For destroying cane fields, the leaflet proposes that phosphorus or flaming cotton balls should be tied to the tail of a cat or rodent, which should then be let loose to run in wild torment through the standing cane.

We have seen no comment on these proposals in the columns of those same papers that have been giving such ample and indignant space to all the charges—true and false—against Batista, and such a sympathetic hearing to the claims and hopes of Fidel Castro.

Just Tired

Back in 1947 a young man from Indiana named William P. Jenner, who had served a brief "fill-in" period in the U. S. Senate from November 1944 to January 1945, became a full-term Senator by right of election. A lusty fighter and a patriot who had served in the Air Force, he was a member of a Senatorial freshman class which included Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. The young man from Indiana had high hopes that Americans might, at last, be willing to follow a Republican leadership dedicated to ridding the Capitol of softness toward Communism and a temporizing attitude toward those who for one reason or another had been carrying out the wishes of the Communists.

For a full decade after his election Senator Jenner was always ready to stand up and be counted. For behaving like a man, and for using the language with an honest vigor which would have been roundly approved by our forebears, Senator Jenner was calumniated and libelled. One by one his courageous allies in the Senate fell by the wayside. Senator Welker of Idaho was defeated for re-election, went home and died; Senator McCarthy and Senator McCarran died in office.

Now Bill Jenner, dispirited and forlorn, has decided to call it a day. In a letter to his state Republican Chairman, Robert Matthews, he has announced that he will not seek re-election in 1958. There are rumors that he may even resign before then. Says Mr. Matthews: "Mr. Jenner is just tired of carrying on the fight for conservatism by himself." Who can blame him?

In our issue of December 28, Whittaker Chambers will review Ayn Rand's new novel, *Atlas Shrugged*.

Our Contributors: RAYMOND ENGLISH ("The Predicament of Politics") is Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Kenyon College. He is the author of *The Pursuit of Purpose*, and a contributor to various journals.

Britain's next General Election Will Turn on Inflation and Defense

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

British politics at the moment are in a queer condition. Instead of charging with wild cries of triumph towards the next election, the Labor Party is merely sitting restively on the Opposition benches, making rather pettish complaints and feeling that all the Socialist buglers must be on leave. Lord Hailsham rings his bell for the Conservative Party and gets a fair amount of publicity; the Government carries on quite confidently, doing a lot of useful spadework in unspectacular fields. And the country pays very little attention. It still doesn't want to vote for either of them.

The major rumpus of the past two weeks was no help to either party. It is generally believed that Britain sent weapons to Tunisia almost entirely because Mr. Dulles wished it so. This annoys some people. Why should we anger our old allies, the French? If it was really necessary for Western arms to be sent, why couldn't they all come from America—with tacit British consent if need be? But was it necessary? Have we any reason to suppose that the receipt of Western arms is incompatible with the receipt of more arms from Egypt and the Soviet bloc? A vexed question: but not one of which the Labor Party can make use, for all good Socialists would prefer to side with the Algerian rebels against the French colonialists.

Two Storms Impending

If I were compelled to make a prediction now about a General Election which may still be as much as two years away, I should say that on present form the Labor Party will get a majority but not a landslide. With this in mind, some of the subtler Conservative commentators are suggesting that the Government should devote its attention to prophylactic measures, to tying up Britain's economy and alliances so firmly that the Socialists couldn't undo them. This argument hasn't escaped the atten-

tion of the Government, and both the European Free Trade area and Mr. Macmillan's emphasis on the "interdependence" of the NATO countries fit in well with it.

Not that the Conservative Party has given up hope of the next election or hope of being able to claim this Government as a positive success. There are two real tests: economics and defense. These are the storms which still lower on the horizon and must sooner or later wash away the Parliamentary lethargy.

It may be, as the Government claims, that the 7 per cent bank rate saved the pound; but the pound will only stay saved if the world believes that inflation can be halted. It may be that the Government's stern new policy will in fact halt inflation; but so far it's only words except for a hotly argued refusal to grant a pay increase to some civil servants employed by the Ministry of Health. There won't be any help from the Opposition in this matter. As an interesting sample of Socialist thought, consider Dr. Edith Summerskill's comment:

The Prime Minister propounded an astonishing new doctrine which has made the matter even worse.

He said that an increase of wages must be related to an increase in productivity, or be financed out of savings, or by a cut in the services.

I only hope the Prime Minister will abide by this astonishing new doctrine. Whether he can or not remains to be seen.

Defense policy is just as difficult and even more complicated. The great strategic move is for closing the ranks of the Western Alliance. Much has been achieved in the past few months and we all hope that December's top-level NATO meeting will achieve still more. President Eisenhower's illness made headlines in every British paper and there has been a proliferation of articles about Vice-President Nixon. Without pretending

that Nixon has won all hearts in advance, I'd say that on the whole the mood was optimistic.

But however well the alliance is working, it needs soldiers; quite apart from the alliance, Britain needs soldiers; and there's an uneasy feeling that we're not going to get them. Our defense policy was outlined in the Sandys White Paper last Spring. On the one hand, it diverts a lot of money and attention from conventional forces to electronic weapons; on the other hand, it promises the end of conscription in three years time. The army of the future may be small but it will be wonderfully equipped and should consist entirely of regular soldiers. But where are those soldiers coming from?

No Time for Soldiers

British servicemen are still comparatively badly paid, badly uniformed and badly housed. The War Office is making great efforts to improve the conditions of service life but there is a limit to what can be done without spending very large sums of money, and this is ruled out both by the cost of the new weapons and by the Government's very proper desire to reduce public spending. But some of us wonder whether physical conditions are really the heart of the matter.

The whole philosophy of the Welfare State is inimical to the profession of soldiering. By substituting artificially swollen wage sheets for unemployment, it removes one of the chief incentives to recruitment. Its mechanical comforts and entertainments blunt the zest for adventure. Its trade-union mentality abominates discipline and rank and the emphasis on duties rather than rights. In terms of this philosophy the services have nothing to offer.

There is an old slogan, far more effectual: "your country needs you." It never fails, provided you can get people to believe it. Recruiting figures soar up whenever there is a genuine, obvious national emergency. Now it happens to be a matter of cold fact that our country does need soldiers. The pity is that so little trouble should be taken to explain why. The War Office is now canvassing the

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The Wheels of Justice Stop for Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

The government has halted a grand jury investigation of Congressman Powell.

Why? Because further investigation would tend to incriminate him?

By the Staff of NATIONAL REVIEW

"... as long as the Attorney General is afraid to deal with [Senator McCarthy] ... it makes one think that maybe Senator McCarthy is guilty."

—The Hon. Adam Clayton Powell Jr.,
Commencement Address at Coppen
State Teachers College, June 1953

NATIONAL REVIEW has learned that on the 18th of March of this year the Eisenhower Administration called off an income-tax investigation of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. The government suspended the investigation a) in spite of the fact that a New York grand jury had been scrutinizing the affairs of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. for three months, and had an estimated two months more work to do; b) in spite of the fact that the agent in charge of the Treasury force detailed to assist the United States Attorney to secure evidence for the grand jury privately stated that in his opinion enough evidence had already been amassed to win an indictment; and c) in spite of the further fact that the Assistant United States Attorney who had been in direct charge of the investigation from the outset, believed, and so stated to his superiors, that enough evidence had already been marshalled to bring about an indictment, and in spite of the fact that he believed, and so informed his superiors, that two months additional work would even further strengthen the government's case.

The Administration's decision to draw back its forces is most probably an act of political gratitude. Alter-

native explanations are not excluded. Adam Powell has intimidated people before by construing any opposition to him or what he wants as an attack on the Negro race and democracy. A year ago on a television program he declared that "innuendos" about his alleged financial irregularities were inspired by his fight against White Citizens Councils.

It is, however, less likely that he intimidated the Eisenhower Administration with this line, than that the Administration felt beholden to Adam Powell for his dramatic and totally unexpected announcement of October 11, 1956, calling on all Negroes to vote for the Republican Presidential candidate. Adam Powell was in deep trouble at the moment he made that switch. He knew the Justice Department had begun to look closely into his affairs. Three of his secretaries had been indicted for tax evasion.



Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

One had already been convicted, and at her trial a witness stated he had been told by the defendant that she, the defendant, had been kicking her salary back to Powell. Another secretary was on trial at that moment. Powell was due (or rather, overdue) in court to give evidence. He had not appeared; what was more, he could not be found.

The presiding judge angrily commented that any public figure who is wanted in court should make himself available. Powell, the necessary arrangements having been made, did. He wired the prosecution that he would make himself available *almost immediately—that is, "immediately after my conference with the President of the United States."*

What conference with the President of the United States? everyone wondered. It was a conference that took place only five days after the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. had told his devoted congregation in Harlem that no Negro could conscientiously "campaign for Stevenson or Eisenhower." (He had previously accused Eisenhower of "dodging the civil rights issue, passing the buck and trying to wash his hands of innocent men and women in the Southland.") Five days later, emerging, unabashed, from the White House, Powell announced to the world that he would campaign for Dwight Eisenhower; and later, that Eisenhower's opponent, Adlai Stevenson, was "a slave" to "America's fifth column of native fascists," and those Negroes who voted for him

would be "traitors to their race."

The *New York Times* reported that Governor Harriman thought it "strange" that Adam Clayton Powell should have chosen to come out for Eisenhower at a moment when members of Powell's staff were having troubles with the Justice Department.

Two Episodes that Caught the Eye of the Justice Department

In 1954, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was publicly implicated in the mysterious goings and comings of two sums of \$3,000 each. In that year, a Senate Committee set out to investigate the Federal Housing Authority. Collaterally, the Committee learned that a housing contractor called David Kent had, early in 1952, asked Powell to give him a hand in selling co-operative apartments in an interracial housing project. Powell had obliged by detailing two of his congressional secretaries, Acy Lennon and William Hampton, to help out Kent.

Several months later, in September 1952, Powell borrowed \$3,000 from Kent—at one per cent interest. He gave Kent a note, payable on demand any time after six months. In the spring of 1954 (just before it was announced that the FHA was to be investigated), Powell claims he gave Kent a check for \$30, to cover one year's interest on the loan. Five months later, the check had not been cashed.

Why, the Committee asked Kent, had he allowed two years to go by without asking Powell to make repayment? "I am not," Kent answered testily, "in the business of making loans to friends. In fact," he added grandly, "when Congressman Powell comes to me and pays me this \$3,000 I intend to return this check to him."

Friendship of such quality being unusual these days, the Justice Department, already concerned with other involvements of Mr. Powell (see below), took note of the revelations of the Senate Committee.

The public was reminded of these disclosures two years later, when Acy Lennon, whom Powell had encouraged to help out Kent with his apartment-selling project, was put on trial, and convicted, for tax evasion. The

cast was familiar: David Kent, Acy Lennon, William Hampton, Adam Powell—and even \$3,000, though a different \$3,000 this time.

In July 1952 (testimony revealed) Kent gave Lennon a check for \$3,000 made out to the Tenants Protective Association, a non-profit corporation of which Powell was president. The money represented commissions earned by Lennon and Hampton for selling Kent's apartments. The check was made out to the Tenants Protective Association, said Kent, because Lennon and Hampton, in their selling activities, were acting as agents of the TPA.

The money having been deposited to the account of TPA, a check was drawn, three days later, in the same sum of \$3,000, to the order of one Paul Klein. The treasurer of the TPA swore he had never known of the existence of the money, a fact especially remarkable since the TPA's

bank account averaged \$25, and never exceeded \$33.17. Moreover, all checks made out by the TPA had to carry the signatures of two of its three officers: President (Powell), Treasurer, and Co-Treasurer. The Treasurer and Co-Treasurer swore under oath they had never signed the check for \$3,000. Yet such a check was drawn on TPA funds. Either forgery or perjury was, on top of everything else, committed. Nobody, but nobody, reported the money as income—not TPA, not Lennon, not Hampton, not Powell, not Klein.

The government wanted to know who really got the money (and who, therefore, owed a tax on it). Paul Klein, intimate friend of Powell, testified in court—contradicting his testimony before the grand jury—that he frankly had "no personal recollection" of having received the money, but that he would bow to the firmer memories of his good friends

Getting at the Heart of the Matter With Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

ON AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR II: "[As long as the war was] yellow against yellow, white against black, and white against white [the U.S. stayed out]. . . . Pearl Harbor, however, was yellow against white, and the war came immediately with the race baiters roaring their approval."

ON HOW TO DEAL WITH MARTIN DIES: "The sooner [Dies] is buried, the better. He is one of the few people in history whose body has begun to stink before it died . . . There is only one place fit for him to live and that's Hitler's outhouse. WE DEMAND THAT . . . THE PRESIDENT HAVE HIM ARRESTED IMMEDIATELY AS AN ENEMY AGENT . . . The death of Dies is just as important as the death of Hitler."

ON THE EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION ON NEGROES: "When the Depression came, blacks got blue in the face trying to stay out of the red."

ON THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT: "This bill has been called a bill of rights for labor . . . [It] is a bill of rights and lefts under the belt for labor, not only under the belt but in the back, in good old foreign fascist style."

ON THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THOMAS E. DEWEY: "Dewey is now the Crown Head and indebted servant of the worst anti-American, isolationist reactionaries ever to come on the scene . . . Dewey and those who voted to support him in the race for the Presidency hate Negroes, democracy, the President, and progress . . . They are the fullest expression of Southern Bourbon crackerocracy and domestic fascism."

Acy Lennon and William Hampton, who assured him that in fact he had borrowed the money from TPA. "I thought I would certainly remember a loan of that sum," he added wistfully, "especially when I was broke."

But then Powell (who a few months before had, according to Klein, told him that he had no memory whatever of the transaction), enjoying total recall, stepped forward to testify that the money had not been lent, but was turned over to Klein for services rendered—because Klein "had worked so very hard for many years in many capacities and had never been paid by me." The check made out to the destitute and forgetful Mr. Klein in July was not cashed until October.

Powell was asked to produce the records (including the cancelled check) of the TPA in court. Unfortunately, he could not. Some of them, he said, had already been turned over to the Treasury Department (Treasury denied it); others had been stolen by vandals in 1952; and the rest caught fire in a tower of the Abyssinian Church, where they had been stored. The charred and waterlogged remains had, alas, been carted off by a junk man.

Miss Hattie

Some time in 1954, the Justice Department stumbled onto the fact that two distinct and apparently unrelated tax returns were being filed by a single woman. Out of that discovery grew the case of the United States vs. Mrs. Hattie Dodson.

Mrs. Dodson, like her husband, was an employee of Adam Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church. As Mrs. Dodson she filed, with her husband, a return covering her salary from the church. But she also held down—or at least she was paid for holding down—a second position as a member of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s congressional staff. The money she was paid for her "work" in that capacity she declared in a separate return, filed under her maiden name. That was illegal.

During the trial of Mrs. Dodson, a witness stated that he had been told Powell had (illegally) taken kickbacks from Mrs. Dodson. Joseph E. Ford, a sometime associate of Powell, and an old friend of Mrs. Dodson, swore in court that Mrs. Dodson had

once told him that she slipped her congressional salary back to Congressman Powell.

It never was made clear just what happened to the \$5,000-odd a year Mrs. Dodson had been receiving as a congressional secretary, and it was even less clear why she was paid anything to begin with. Mrs. Dodson at first said she had spent every penny—"mostly on clothes." Later she re-

The Infinite Forgiveness of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

(At the trial of Hattie Dodson)

Mr. Bolan (prosecutor): On how many occasions [Mr. Powell,] do you have to be informed that Mrs. Dodson lied before you would change your opinion as to whether she was capable of lying?

Mr. Powell. I don't know. The Bible tells me seventy times seven.

Q. Seventy times seven?

A. That is what the Bible says . . .

Q. That is 490 times, is that right?

A. That is what Jesus said, yes sir.

Q. . . . until Mrs. Dodson admits that she has lied on 490 occasions you will stick to your opinion that she is not capable of telling a lie, is that right?

A. Yes it is sir, yes it is.

Q. . . . did that passage refer to forgiveness, or did it refer to the capacity to do sin?

A. Forgiveness.

Q. . . . I didn't ask you whether you would forgive Mrs. Dodson if she lied 490 times. I asked you if your opinion would change as to her capacity for lying.

A. Her capacity to sin?

Q. Yes.

A. Okay, yes. I believe we all have it, a capacity to sin. Yes sir.

membered having tucked away \$9,000 in a safety deposit box, as a "surprise" for her husband; and indeed it would have surprised her husband, who had told government agents that he had never even known that his wife was holding down another full-time job.

The question had then arisen, What did she do to earn her congressional salary? Try as she might, Mrs. Dodson could not recall. She could not name a single constituent with whom she had dealt, a single bill on which

she had worked—in fact, she could not name a single congressional duty which she had performed.

Powell had listed Mrs. Dodson as "Hattie Freeman" in his congressional roster. Why?—since he listed her as Mrs. Dodson in the church roster? Well, said Powell, he always believed that "a woman who is in some form of business or public life should go by her maiden name." The only reason he listed her as Mrs. Dodson at the church was because, in New York, among her friends and associates, she was of course known as Mr. Dodson's wife. When Powell was reminded that he had previously testified that Mrs. Dodson also did most of her congressional work in New York, he changed his story:—come to think of it, he just couldn't remember how he had listed Mrs. Dodson on the congressional payroll, or why.

Mrs. Dodson was convicted of tax evasion, and was sent off to jail.

The Justice Department decided to roll up its sleeves and have a proper look at the complicated life of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

The Post-Election Story

It is naive to suppose Adam Powell got direct from President Eisenhower a promise, or even a suggestion of a promise, that Powell would be forgiven any tax offense of which he was guilty in return for a political endorsement. Things do not happen that way in those circles, and Powell, the operator, almost surely would not have affronted an essentially non-political President by any hint, however subtle, of his bill for political services rendered. Politicians have a way of exchanging vibrations: and no doubt Adam Clayton Powell Jr. felt things were understood—if not between him and Eisenhower, between him and the Republican Party—when he stepped out on the White House steps and told the reporters he would campaign for Eisenhower.

But the legal machinery closing in on Powell was, by October 1956, in motion, and had gathered considerable impetus. The indictments and convictions of so many close associates (see box) pointed to a sordid world, which the Justice Department, unaware of transcendent factors, had set out to explore. As early as July

3, Paul W. Williams, U.S. Attorney for New York, had announced that the government was "pressing an income tax investigation of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr."

In December, after the election, a grand jury was impaneled, and Thomas A. Bolan, an Assistant U.S. Attorney under Paul Williams, began to present evidence. Bolan had successfully prosecuted first Hattie Dodson, then Acy Lennon, and had been responsible for developing the case against Powell as it evolved. Bolan had declared his intention to resign from government service and go into private practice, but he agreed to postpone his resignation until the investigation of Powell, and one other case that lay pending, were concluded.

On the 6th of December, the U.S. Attorney's office in New York announced to the press that a "full scale" grand jury investigation of Powell was under way.

This announcement, coming as it did almost two months after Powell had gone Republican, must have vexed him. It is not known whether Drew Pearson wrote from an inside knowledge of events or whether he had merely strung together a series of plausibilities. But he appears—no doubt inadvertently—to have been accurate on December 11, in saying that "the sorest man in America today against the Eisenhower Administration is Adam Clayton Powell

Jr. . . ." "The inside story," Pearson went on, "is illuminating. . . . It was supposed, presumed, and believed that part of the deal was that the Justice Department would forget the tax case against Powell. That's why Capitol Hill is watching to see what happens before the grand jury. . . . Powell has called at the White House twice since the election to straighten out his tax troubles. He was unable, however, to quash the case."

The grand jury was hard at work. It sat continuously through December, January, and February, during which period evidence was presented to it raising the question whether Adam Powell had evaded taxes by falsifying his tax return during the years 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954 and 1955. The entire facilities of the Justice and Treasury Departments were put at the disposal of the U.S. Attorney's office in New York. As many as five Treasury agents worked on the case at one time, headed by a veteran agent, Morris J. Emanuel.

On the 29th of January, Powell made his move.

He wrote the Attorney General a letter the burden of which was that he had become an object of persecution, that his reputation was being stained by inquisitorial agents whose conduct, did the Attorney General know about it, so distinguished a gentleman as he could not possibly condone; etc.

A few weeks later Bolan was given



William P. Rogers

an emergency assignment which forced him to put aside, temporarily, the investigation of Powell. After disposing of it, Bolan got back to Powell and prepared to recall the grand jury.

But on March 18, 1957, Bolan was informed that on orders from Washington, the U.S. Attorney's office in New York was abandoning its investigation into the affairs of Adam Clayton Powell and turning the entire matter over to the Treasury Department. The decision did not reflect in any way, Bolan was assured, on the manner in which he had conducted the investigation. "It's just too hot to handle," he was told.

Bolan informed his superiors that not only he but Emanuel, the highly experienced agent who had led the Treasury task force, believed that an indictment could be had on the basis of evidence already accumulated; and that additional evidence was in the process of being rounded up. What, he asked, was he to tell the grand jury, which had sat so patiently for three months digesting a mountain of information? He could not expect them to believe the official story—that the Justice Department did not have facilities as extensive as the Treasury Department's—when it was a well known and observed fact to the grand jury that the Treasury Department had placed its facilities at the disposal of the Justice Department all these months.

"That's the way they want it handled," Bolan was told.

Bolan was asked to write a letter, addressed to the Attorney General in Washington, stating that he felt the case would be better handled by the

The Perils of Being Associated with Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

HATTIE FREEMAN DODSON: *Congressional secretary to Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., and assistant to the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr., rector of the Abyssinian Baptist Church—convicted on five counts of income-tax evasion, four counts on making false statements, May 18, 1956.*

WILLIAM HAMPTON: *Congressional secretary to Adam Clayton Powell Jr.—indicted for income-tax evasion, September 27, 1955.*

ACY LENNON: *Congressional secretary to Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr.—convicted on October 19, 1956, on four counts of tax evasion. Still to be tried on 32 counts of preparing fraudulent income-tax returns in connection with tax service operated at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Indictment as of October 3, 1955.*

JOHN HENRY HARMON: *Treasurer of the Abyssinian Baptist Church's Federal Credit Union—pleaded guilty November, 1957 to four counts of embezzlement.*

People and Things That Warm the Heart of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

"This week I congratulate the fighting people's paper, the *Daily Worker*, on the achievement of its twentieth year of a consistent battle for mankind's rights."

A.C.P.Jr., "The Soapbox," *The People's Voice*, Jan. 15, 1944

"[Paul] Robeson is a warrior on humanity's perpetual front . . . Robeson is the proof that the West has come of age in politics, art and social vision . . . Hail, warrior, artist, servant . . . Prophet of the New Day!"

A.C.P.Jr., "The Soapbox," *The People's Voice*, April 22, 1944

"Negro-Americans admire and feel close to the Soviet Union. We are impressed by Russia's complete abolition of racial discrimination, by the job, health and other forms of social security which the USSR guarantees to ALL of its nearly 200 million people, and by its consistent fight to destroy fascism and free the colonial peoples. Negroes, therefore, generally avoid the anti-Soviet traps set by the imperialist war-makers."

A.C.P.Jr.'s *The People's Voice*, July 21, 1945

Treasury Department. He declined to do so.

On April 8, at a conference with his superiors, Bolan reported that, following instructions, he had informed local Treasury officials of the decision of the Justice Department to relinquish the case; but that they had refused to take it over in the name of the Treasury Department, under such extraordinary circumstances, until they were requested to do so directly by Washington. They were not, a Treasury Department official told Bolan, going to cooperate gladly in a "buck passing" operation.

To this day, the U.S. Attorney's office in New York is nominally in charge of the investigation of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. The grand jury has not been dismissed, and its term does not automatically expire until May, 1958. But the grand jury has not worked on the case since February. Nor has it been officially advised why the investigation has not been pursued, despite persistent inquiries.

In the meantime, on June 14, 1957, no indictment having been voted, the statute of limitations immunized Adam Clayton Powell Jr. against prosecution for any income tax evasion in the year 1950, one of the years under scrutiny. Avenues of inquiry suggested by data that had been turned up in the course of investiga-

tion were not followed up, notwithstanding the fact that they bore directly on the questions at issue and that the short period during which investigation was legally possible was slipping, irrevocably, by. A few days before the deadline, a "review" was made of the data relating to that year. But it was too late to follow up the leads. Nor was the grand jury asked to make the crucial decision whether or not the evidence warranted indictment though, under the circumstances, the decision was the jurors' to make.

On May 23, 1957, then Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers wrote a letter from Washington to Paul Williams, stating that a dastardly rumor was circulating to the effect that the Justice Department had quashed the case against Powell. So far as the Justice Department is concerned, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. is simply another citizen, wrote Rogers in effect: treat him like everybody else. If the facts call for action, let us have action; if the facts do not call for action, let there be no action.

What must Paul Williams have thought of such a letter! No one could suspect Williams or his staff of susceptibility to Adam Clayton Powell's threats, cajolery, or political subornations. As long as Williams was

in charge, the investigation had gone forward diligently, and according to established procedure. It was only because of Washington's intervention, two months before Rogers wrote, that the New York office was paralyzed, and a grand jury deflected from its duty. What was the purpose of Mr. Rogers' letter? To serve as Exhibit Number 1 against a charge that the case against Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was fixed? Time, no doubt, will tell.

Meanwhile, it is only left for Adam Powell to proclaim his victory over the White Citizens Councils.

LETTER FROM LONDON

(Continued from p. 536)

opinion of servicemen all over the world on what's wrong with the army: "waste of time" and "too much bull" will certainly come high in their list of answers.

We are still too reluctant to admit that the cold war is a real war and one which is likely to go on for a very long time, straining our resources to the utmost. We still haven't properly thought out the relationship of nuclear missiles to conventional forces. No wonder the ordinary soldier sees little future in his trade.

Yet ordinary soldiers will be needed now in a dozen crisis spots and, as some of us guess, may be needed more than ever; for the common possession of "ultimate" weapons could easily lead not to a full-scale nuclear war but to an endless succession of forest-fire conflicts fought with small groups of highly mobile, lightly armed men.

The revelation last week that live H-bombs are carried by American planes on patrol from bases in Britain caused surprisingly little shock. There was a certain amount of Socialist indignation, of course. But people are more realistic about the international situation now than they were a few years ago.

For everyone who thinks about such matters it underlined a need which has been increasingly obvious for a long time. We must do some really fundamental rethinking about the whole problem of defense; what possession of nuclear weapons means, what Russian strategy is likely to be, what sort of war we're supposed to be guarding against and, not least, what soldiers are for.

The Answer to Sputniks

Mr. Burnham gives his answer to the Sputniks: abandonment of the "heads we tie, tails you win" policy of containment for one of liberation.

JAMES BURNHAM

It is assumed that our answer to Soviet Sputniks must be bigger and better Sputniks of our own. Phrased more generally: the way in which to handle the mounting Soviet threat is (so it is assumed) to beat the Communists in the super-armament race, to get and keep a clear-cut arms superiority.

Reasoning from this assumption, we are moving toward crash programs for missiles, satellites, space platforms, nuclear aircraft and trips to the moon. We are upgrading science and scientists, talking about changing our educational system, planning to spend new billions on research and military hardware, and conducting public inquiries on how to get more missiles more quickly.

We have forgotten that from the end of the war until a couple of years ago we had overwhelming superiority in advanced armament over the Soviet Union. This superiority did not prove to be an answer to the Soviet threat. Though lacking both nuclear weapons and strategic air power, the Soviet Union marched briskly up the path of the world revolution. It was in just those years of our overwhelming arms predominance that Communism conquered China, Tibet, North Korea and North Vietnam, and consolidated control over the captured nations of East Europe.

Is it not obvious? What we were missing, plainly, was not arms but a policy.

Arms for What?

What good can even the fanciest arms be, if we are not willing to use them? Of course the actual use can be to back up policy, not necessarily to kill. But the willingness—the resolve—must extend to the latter use in order to give substance to the

former. A policeman's revolver will not impress a thief who knows that it has no trigger.

Today we still have operative superiority in advanced weapons systems—nuclear devices and delivery vehicles. Even by the most pessimistic accounts, Soviet weapons predominance is a possibility of the future, not a fact of the present. Suppose that we now step up our pace to whatever rate is needed to assure us, a few years from now, a superiority in missiles and space objects comparable to the immense superiority we long held in nuclear bombs and manned aircraft. What then? What will it, what can it, profit us while we cling to a passive, negative policy?

Non-Partisan Policy of Containment

Republicans and Democrats are now trying to fasten the blame on each other for having too long delayed the start of missiles development. But that is a subordinate point. Democrats and Republicans share equally in the blame for having pursued a policy that was bound to lose—and is still bound to go on losing—no matter how far ahead in weapons we have been, are, and may be.

This policy—which has been at bottom identical under Truman and Eisenhower, under Marshall and Acheson and Dulles—has been accurately labeled "containment" by George Kennan, who first gave it systematic expression. "U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union," Mr. Kennan argued seven years ago, "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." If this is kept up "over a period of ten to fifteen years, the United States has it in its power . . . to force upon the

Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection . . . and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

Commenting on the containment policy at the time of its formulation, I wrote: "The policy of containment, stripped bare, is simply the bureaucratic verbalization of a policy of drift. Its inner law is: let history do it. We haven't got the intelligence, courage and determination to grapple with the Soviet problem head on. Let's duck the responsibility, then, and slip the ball to old mother history." Mother history responded by laying those Sputniks in the sky. We throw up hysterical hands, and yell for every remedy in the cabinet—except the one that is relevant to the disease: a new and workable policy.

How to be Sure to Lose

The reason why the containment policy (however called) cannot work for any length of time should be easy to understand. It leaves the Communists undisturbed within the Soviet sphere, and at the same time free to make trouble anywhere outside the Soviet sphere. Therefore they can stolidly build up their internal military power while they plague us with an unending series of "tensions" that must be relieved.

But the tensions are all on our side, since the containment policy forbids us to provoke tensions on theirs. In each case, therefore, the best we can do is to quiet the trouble down and hold fast to the status quo. But nobody is lucky enough to win every draw in the deck. Sometimes we can't get even our sterile tie, and then the Communists pick up those particular chips. Soviet influence, continuously being strength-

ened within, expands another notch.

It is like flipping a coin with an opponent to whom you offer the match: "Heads we tie, tails you win." The final outcome, though it might be delayed, is certain.

Premise of a Positive Policy

The contrary and correct policy—under whatever name—is also easy enough to understand if we choose to think about it. While continuing to defend our own regions (and in that sense "containing"), we must try to weaken the Soviet sphere. Our aim must be to reduce the Communist power to a level from which it can no longer seriously threaten our own and the world's security. This means not merely to hold fast against the Soviet expansive pressure, but to undermine the Soviet internal power, to break up the monolithic power structure of the present Soviet Empire.

Put in terms of tensions, a correct policy would deliberately aim to provoke tensions within the Soviet sphere, and to aggravate and exploit those tensions that arise, without any promotion on our part, in the course of Soviet events.

Others as well as I have called this a "policy of liberation," because its positive objective is the freeing of the peoples and nations of the Soviet sphere from Bolshevik imperial tyranny—an outcome that would be at the same time the only lasting protection of our own and the West's security. In several books I have analyzed this policy's meaning, and suggested some of its applications.

From Policy to Projects

To replace containment with a positive policy would mean, of course, a vast shift in idea, attitude and action. Nearly every external activity of the United States would be affected, and much that is internal. The pattern is too complex for brief summary.

For operational purposes, a policy is translated into specific projects. Instead of once more defining a positive policy ("policy of liberation") in general terms, let us consider some representative projects in which it might at present be embodied.

1. Knock Albania out of the Soviet

Empire. Several plans for this project, which has frequently been proposed in the past, have already been worked out in governmental agencies. It would presumably be a rather crude combination of Balkan politics and para-military action. Granted that we are prepared to risk general war—a risk we now face daily in any case, whether we recognize it or not—this Albania project, if assigned as an unconditioned and adequately backed mission, would almost certainly succeed. For the Russians, Albania is strategically indefensible.

2. Reunify Korea. All along we have been making a Platonic record on this project. Giving it a high priority would mean to transform the diplomatic demand for all-Korean elections into a massive political warfare campaign, conducted in all forums official and unofficial, backed by a military-economic buildup of South Korea, and pushed by partisan activities in North Korea. It should be noted that such a campaign, vigorously conducted, would serve to aggravate tensions in the Soviet sphere and to divert Soviet energies from making trouble for us, even if our project failed to achieve its maximum objective.

3. Reunify Germany. This project would be much bigger in scale. To be carried on, it would have to become for a period the axis of our international policy, to which all other projects would be subordinated. To conduct it properly might require about the same amount of money and brains as to get a manned rocket to the moon; but the realized net profit would be incomparably greater. Anyone, contemplating the problem passively, can prove that there are colossal difficulties in a German reunification project—just as he can prove there are in a moon trip project. But the viewpoint is metamorphosed when we shift from passive to active. The project is *decided*; the mission *assigned*; the *command* is given: go to the moon; reunify Germany. It is a question no longer of contemplating problems but of solving them.

4. Rid Syria of Soviet and Communist Influence. This project is sad to list. If there had been a correct policy during the past few years, there

would be no Soviet influence to rid Syria of. But one can never start earlier than the present. For a Syria project, a many-sided campaign, toughened conscience and calm nerves would be needed. It is surely not Utopian. Syria is small, weak, economically insufficient, geographically precarious. We have powerful political, economic and strategic levers to grasp if we are prepared to use them.

5. Build a military organization composed of units representing the subject nations of the Soviet Empire. This project—for what has been called a "Legion of Liberty"—has been repeatedly put forward, and through the Lodge and Kersten amendments Congress has tried to make it part of U.S. policy. The existence of a multi-national corps with Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian, and the other national units (Chinese already existing in Formosa) would heighten and direct the nationalist tendencies within the Soviet structure that have a potential explosive force no less shattering than in Africa and southern Asia. The Legion would also be a serious fighting element for the little (brush-fire) wars of our period. In a general war, each national unit would become a unifying point around which the revolting soldiers and youth of the subject nations would rally. The knowledge of this likelihood, indeed, would be a braking factor on any Kremlin impulse to start general war.

Try These on our Launching Pads

I have outlined these five projects—the first four, geographical; the fifth, functional—as examples of what a correct policy would mean in specific and practical application. Not all should be begun at the same time. Concentration on one or two would be a more efficient use of force, and probably more effective. And there are other comparable projects, with the same basic objectives, that a full strategic analysis might find preferable to any of these.

Whichever might be chosen, it is the launching of a project of this order that would be the serious answer to the launching of the Sputniks.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Conserving the American College

Certain evangels of educational collectivism inform us that the old American college is doomed. Great state-supported universities and colleges, they declare, will satisfy the wants of the rising generation; the small private college, a peculiarly American foundation, is a relic of sectarianism and provinciality, a drag upon Progress.

And a good many presidents and trustees of our private colleges confess, with sighs, that the prophecy of the champions of Behemoth State University is no chimera. Every year, the number of private colleges diminishes. Two or three years ago, for the first time in American history, more young Americans enrolled in state institutions than in private universities and colleges. As things are going, the proportion of students in the private foundations may be expected to decrease every autumn that passes.

One reason why the private college now has difficulty in attracting sufficient financial support and competent students is that the average college seems to have forgotten its own ends. The chief of those ends is the apprehension of norms: the teaching of enduring standards in theology, philosophy, and the humane disciplines. When the private college neglects this end, it abandons its great reason for being. So far as "plant" and vocationalism are concerned, the state institution always can outbid the private college.

So I venture to set down here, tentatively, some general rules by which the prudent college might be guided in its work of conservative reform and self-preservation. To undertake these would require courage; and the success of such a reform would depend, in part, upon what Professor Arthur Bestor calls "the restoration of learning" in our primary and secondary schools and upon certain readjustments in the

graduate schools of our universities. But one has to begin somewhere; the American college cannot afford much longer to drift with the current of events; and out of urgent necessity, if from no higher motive, the college policy-makers may begin to re-examine the ends and means of a college education.

1. The college should reaffirm that the end of a liberal education is an ethical consciousness, through which the student is brought to an apprehension of the enduring truths which govern our being, the principles of self-control, and the dignity of man.

2. The college should make it clear that its ethical end is sought through an intellectual discipline, exacting in its character, which regards "useless knowledge" as infinitely more valuable than simple utilitarian skills.

3. The college should return to a concise curriculum emphasizing classical literature, languages, moral philosophy, history, the pure sciences, logic, rhetoric and religious knowledge.

4. The college should set its face against amorphous "survey courses," "general education," and similar substitutes for real intellectual discipline: such a smattering of an inchoate mass of fact produces only the little learning which is a dangerous thing.

5. The college should turn away from vocationalism, resigning to trade-schools and industrial "in-service" training which the college never was meant to undertake.

6. The college should abandon its attempt to encroach upon the specialized and professional studies which are the proper province of the graduate schools of universities.

7. The college should say less about "socialization" and "personality-building," and more about the improvement of the human reason, for the human person's own sake.

8. The college should give up its aspiration to attract those students

who desire the "extra-curricular activities" of Behemoth University, and should offer instead its own natural advantages of personal relationships, smallness of scale, and respect for individuality.

9. The college should not content itself with enrolling those students who cannot obtain admittance to a great university or state college; on the contrary, it should begin to set its standards higher than those of Behemoth University.

10. The college should endeavor deliberately to keep its student-body within reasonable limits, its humane scale being one of the principal natural advantages over Behemoth University.

11. The college should emancipate itself from quasi-commercialized programs of athletics, an expensive and often anti-intellectual pastime in which it cannot compete successfully with Behemoth University.

12. The college should reduce to a minimum the elective features in its curriculum: for one of the college's principal virtues is its recognition of order and hierarchy in the higher learning, and the undergraduate ordinarily is not capable of judging with discretion what his course of studies ought to be.

13. The college should recall to mind the importance of furnishing society with a body of tolerably educated persons whose function it is to provide right reason and conscience in the commonwealth.

14. The college should inculcate on its students a sense of diffuse gratitude toward the generations that have preceded us in time, and a sense of obligation toward the generations yet to be born; and it should remind the rising generation that we are part of a great continuity and essence, that we moderns are only dwarfs mounted on the shoulders of giants. For this consciousness lies at the heart of a liberal education.

A tall order? No doubt. But the college with the courage to reassert its own principles will survive, I think. No order falls, it has been said, except from its own inner weakness. And no college endures which boasts of possessing *almost* as good a gymnasium, and *almost* as practical a course of instruction, as has Behemoth University.

ARTS and MANNERS

SOL STEIN

Innocence on a Rampage

I have a recurrent vision these days of angels dancing on the head of a pin. The angels, however, are really miniature State Department advisors, whirling and turning, and the dance floor is not really the head of a pin but the pate atop the now-stern, now-smiling face of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

This irreverent image recurs to me, I am certain, because I am engaged in the harrowing frivolity of getting a serious play about Communism on Broadway and am constantly being reminded to think of my audience. Each day's news increases my conviction that the ideal audience for such a play is the President of the Republic.

The President, I hasten to add, must be forgiven his ignorance of the meaning of Communism. He is, after all, commander-in-chief and must rely on other officers for intelligence about such matters. In fact I am forced to the conclusion that I shall have to rely on his advisors and constituents for my audience during the two weeks we shall play Washington, inasmuch as we could not expect the President in the theater (even assuming he were in good health) because he will have been warned that this play about Communism is controversial and, as we know, he deplors controversy.

I have, however, another kind of ideal man-in-the-auditorium to fall back on; one, in fact, who has already read the play. Harold Clurman is the drama critic of the *Nation* and has been for several decades the voluble spokesman for the theatrical left. I am told Clurman thought the play an exciting courtroom drama, but that he wondered aloud about all those other things, the undertones and overtones and the non-trial scenes which concerned the meaning of the play. The play, as he knows, deals with what happens when a man accuses a former high official of the State Department of being a Communist. But that is merely the subject matter of the play, not the meaning. The meaning lies in the impact

of both the accused and the accuser on a typical, well-meaning, left-leaning Liberal like himself. It is that mirror we cannot bring ourselves to look into.

It seems to me that what confounds this critic and so many persons like him is that the play is a why-done-it rather than a who-done-it. The famous case which newsmen have seen reflected in this theme is not, as the play is not, a cops-and-robbers story we can view with detachment. It is about us, why we believe what we want to believe when it comes to Communism, especially Communism right here at home.

Another drama critic once said, "the ultimate triumph of Leninism lies in the mystification of non-Communists." Eric Bentley, in his book *What is Theatre?*, points out that nothing better illustrates the continued power of Communist propaganda "than the fact of its influence upon persons who not only are not Communists but quite consciously dissent from Communism." Surprisingly enough, Bentley's context for this statement is the theater, and in particular the treatment of Communism in both the pro-and anti-Communist plays we are seeing now.

Bentley has had his fill of the cardboard characters in American plays about Communism which drive a difficult understanding even further from us—the mustachioed villain; the Oriental bully who chants "Communism is peace, capitalism is war"; the man who confuses witches, which

do not exist, with Communists who do indeed exist. Above all, Bentley laments the playwrights who confuse the tinkle of their own humanitarianism with the gong-like tones of the knowledgeable Communist who knows that he means business. In a way, Bentley is pointing toward a distinction most well-meaning Americans have not yet learned to make, the difference between themselves, who wanted the Scottsboro boys out of jail, and the Communists, who wanted the Scottsboro boys to remain in jail, where they were more valuable.

What alarms so many persons about *A Shadow of my Enemy* is that it includes among its three principals a real Communist, who means business, a real anti-Communist, who means business, and perhaps most important, a non-Communist Liberal who refuses to believe in the reality of either of the other two.

In a sense, the trial that takes place on stage is his trial as much or more than it is the trial of the accused or the accuser. He doesn't want to see the conflict for what it is because he would then have to face in the mirror of his own house the true issue of our time: the fact that Communism means much more than Soviet agents and cops-and-robbers.

The Soviet revolution that shakes our lives was the most recent—and most severe—manifestation of an older revolution that lies in its shadow. The Bolsheviks and their fellow travelers are fierce extensions into the present century of the French Jacobins and their fellow travelers. What all these hard-core revolutionaries and their idealistic supporters have shared is the desire to impose their own blueprint of perfection on society, to remake the world—and worse, to remake human nature. Violence is their instrument, certainty their comfort, and God their pose.

The name for that is hybris. The overweening pride of man which is implicit in Bolshevism is only a more terrible demonstration of something much older. Before either the Soviet or the French Revolution, man's hybris was the central theme of drama. Perhaps hybris should be returned to center-stage when we deal with the support of Communism, willful and innocent, here in America.

Idiot's Delight

How should men quite sane,
Feel about the brain
Of an idiot,
Taking mad delight
In his satellite?
They should pidiot.

JOHANNES EFF

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Barbarians Within

FRANK S. MEYER

The *Atlantic* this year marks its 100th anniversary, and in celebration thereof it has brought out a massive jubilee issue. Founded in the ripe autumn of the New England Renaissance, it was for many years a thoughtful and authoritative journal. In recent decades it has become simply another purveyor of slick ideas, a little higher-browed than *Life*, a little lower-browed than *Partisan Review*. The jubilee issue is rather glossier than usual, both in format and in the illustrious gamut of well-established names which decorates it.

Putting out anniversary issues is an innocent enough occupation. One can understand the pride of the editor, Mr. Edward Weeks, and smile tolerantly as he enumerates his distinguished predecessors: James Russell Lowell, William Dean Howells, Walter Hines Page, Ellery Sedgwick. He has an ancestry of which any editor might be proud. One reads along, pleasantly hypnotized, congratulating Mr. Weeks upon his heritage and his cultured understanding in a world where so many corners are rough.

And then suddenly—an astounding passage. He is talking of his predecessors again:

each knew that in the words of our founders he would be expected "to concentrate the efforts of the best writers upon literature and politics, *under the light of the highest morals.*" Pause over those Victorian words for a moment. In the modern idiom they mean that the magazine can be divided evenly between matters of history, economics, and politics on the one hand, and belles lettres on the other. [My emphasis]

And it becomes apparent that this is not simply a conformist ritual. This is something much more significant, much more fearful. To translate the firm statement, "under the light of the highest morals," into "evenly divided between," and to do it without blinking an eye, can only mean that to the editor of the *Atlantic* words have ceased to have meaning and morality no longer exists.

One cannot, one simply cannot credit Mr. Weeks with irony. When he says "in the modern idiom," everything in the context shows that it is his idiom, that to his thinking the only thing "meaningful" (as the modern idiom has it) that a sensible man can

extract from the phrase, "under the light of the highest morals" is "evenly divided between."

This is—however unknowingly, however ignorantly—the voice of the enemy of Western civilization. For our civilization is the civilization of the Word, and the draining of meaning from words, which is the special tool of relativism, seems here to be approaching its ultimate.

This operation of relativism is something like the functioning of the Ministry of Truth in Orwell's 1984, but in a certain way worse. The Ministry of Truth was the agency of a government. It reconstructed history to the demands of tyranny; it made persons into unpersons. But this is a voluntary surrender of the organs of discrimination. It is carried out under no compulsion, but only for the sake of relieving the relativist of the burden of moral responsibility by enabling him to believe that no choice is possible: since there can be no qualitative discrimination between one thing and another, morality has no possible meaning. Now the turning of persons into unpersons is child's

play, because a greater feat has already been performed. The sublime existent truths have been turned into unexistents; and that done, the very foundation of the concept of the person disappears. Men become atoms in the flux of undifferentiated phenomena, ready to be molded into the temporary structures decreed by the social engineer.

Essential to this operation is the attack upon the word: it must be brought under control, subjugated, softened, reduced to a pulpy mass, so that language, the means by which truth is communicated, can be transformed into a weapon of power, an instrument of mass hypnosis. There are many other such instruments, of course—all the media at the disposal of the mass-communications experts and the audio-visual prestidigitators. These are ideal for the manipulators. It is no wonder that educationists and sociologists sneer at "print-centered cultures." The word resists; with pictures and "layout" and radio and television, you can do anything you want.

But still the relativist cannot get along without words. Therefore they must be reduced to his measure, deprived of firm relationship to reality and idea, so that they no longer resplendently reflect the understanding the ranked generations have handed down. They must become functional, instrumental, serving the desires of the hour.

Thus, the editor of the *Atlantic*, who, in his editorial, extinguishes the morality handed down to him by the sober, compelling charter of his predecessors, is perfectly capable of publishing in the same issue an article by Herbert Gold, this year's fashion in limp young critics, called "Divorce As A Moral Act." Replete with sodden Freudianisms and disconnected pathos, it is directed squarely against marriage and the family. Since these are the sturdiest institutions resisting the onrolling rush of undifferentiated togetherness, "moral" becomes a useful word to glorify the necessary disin-

tegrating weapon, divorce. Words have their uses for the relativist.

There have been Dark Ages before, when the accumulated understanding of generations has been largely swept away by the impact of the barbarians. But some of it has been preserved, in hole and corner, to come forth again to fructify the consciousness of the

conqueror and grow to new strength. But what are we to expect of an age in which the barbarians are within; in which learning and understanding are not destroyed, but corrupted; in which the editor of a journal with a hundred years of service to the great tradition behind it cannot comprehend the meaning of morality?

The Predicament of Politics

RAYMOND ENGLISH

The Kingdom of Free Men (Cambridge, \$3.75) by G. Kitson Clark, Reader in Constitutional History in the University of Cambridge, will mean more to Americans than to the author's countrymen, for here reaction against the political salvationism of the 1930's has not driven the intellectuals into skepticism, verbal analysis or existentialist despair to anything like the extent which has been the case in Europe. Anyone who is conscious of the mess dumped by our pride on our own doorsteps, who is concerned to see politics restored to its not insignificant function, and religion to its proper place, and who would avoid both despair and sentimental optimism will find these sensitive lectures most helpful.

Father Brown once remarked that he didn't care much for spiritual power; he had more sympathy for spiritual weakness. Dr. Kitson Clark, who writes as an historian and an unselfrighteous Christian, would agree. Although he makes no appeals to authority, his views are in the mainstream of thought which runs with broad consistency from Augustine to Voegelin, Niebuhr and Maritain: here we have no abiding city; men cannot find salvation by their own efforts; political institutions are necessary because of sin and, although they provide opportunities for the good life, they cannot enforce it; and political obligation is dictated and limited by Divine and Natural Law. These are difficult principles to apply, and lest we indulge in complacency, Dr. Kitson Clark points out "that in Western Europe and the United States we have been the spoilt children of Christendom . . . normally living under governments which have

either been Christian or liberal." His chapter on "Religious Persecution since 1945" is a grim reminder of the necessary place in the Christian scheme for patient submission in the face of political evil. The intricacy of the Christian position is revealed in such passages as this:

Faith, as I see it, is a realization that, in addition to the existing order of events of which we have common knowledge, there exists another and transcendent reality which without faith cannot be perceived. What the relation of that reality is to the events of our common experience is a difficult and mysterious problem to which we have received no answer, and it seems certain that we overrate the inevitability of the rules we draw from our common earthly experience, and underestimate the power that we might draw from that transcendent reality. But what seems also to be certain is, that we have not been given or promised the power to charm away all the results of evil and sin, either in ourselves or in other people, when these results become dangerous or obnoxious to us.

Since the book is profound and complex, and a product of charity, contemplation and prayer, critical disagreement is distasteful. Yet the reviewer must raise some questions. It is surely undesirable in admitting the historical necessity of individualistic secularism, collectivist socialism and even totalitarianism, to approve the unfounded optimism of their exponents; yet this is what Dr. Kitson Clark occasionally and inconsistently appears to do. "Almost any man of good will," he says, must "hope passionately" that "environment can be so manipulated by statesmen that the human beings in their charge can be absolutely and finally changed into what they desire." He goes on to show that this aim cannot be achieved,

but one would have felt happier had the aim itself been condemned.

One wonders, too, why the author reiterated the non sequitur that to give "the vote" to a man or woman is to recognize "the inherent integrity and value" of the individual. Representative constitutional government has sounder foundations, and mass democracy, as Dr. Kitson Clark elsewhere recognizes, results in the denial of personal integrity. The most disturbing statement in the book is the following: "Christians are, I believe, justified in the use of force for one purpose and one purpose only, to prevent the use of force." This is an open invitation to casuistry (like the claim that Communists do not advocate violent revolution), and does not explain compulsory education or taxation, leave alone the complexities of international politics. Dr. Kitson Clark is elsewhere much exercised to disprove the old delusion that the accumulation of armaments necessarily leads to war.

It is true that all the points criticized above are corrected by the author's main thesis, and it may be argued that their insertion is a necessary concession in the process of persuading those who have been deceived by Utopian illusions. Indeed, in the last chapters—"The Sin of the World" and "The Kingdom of Free Men"—the solemn predicament of the world and Christians is exposed in a dissection of human weakness, an analysis of the historical chain of sin

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and guilt, and a survey of the achievements and failures of our civilization. Here is no resting place, only endless but not pointless striving; so we glimpse the significance of the Crucifixion through the mists and storms of sin:

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM: IN DEFENSE OF THE NEW COURSE (Praeger, \$5.50). The necessity of choosing between an affirmation and its denial, detested of Marxian "dialectics," is the first condition of formal logic and rational behavior. Imre Nagy realized as much only in his last moments of public life, when the two articles of his secular faith—Communism and the people of Hungary—stood revealed in unalterable contradiction. In this fragmentary collection of essays—composed, apparently with great urgency and little care, during the author's 1955-56 days of political exile—Nagy argues the merits of consumer-goods priorities against heavy industry, attempts to reconcile "moral" sentiments with nakedly amoral premises, and reveals that his dilemma was precisely that of Bernstein and other Marxists of the "Social Democratic" persuasion. May Social Democracy profit from his agony.

C. LOGAN

REALM OF THE INCAS, by Victor W. von Hagen (New American Library, 50 cents). Along the western coast of South America before the Spanish conquest, the subjects of the Incas had attained a cultural status intermediate between barbarism and true civilization. They had no system of coinage or commerce, no writing or literature, no capacity for reflective thought; but they possessed a well-developed agriculture, skill in the construction of permanent buildings, artistry in weaving, ceramics and goldwork, and a system of book-keeping. They had, of course, advanced beyond the classless society which is found only among the lowest barbarians, but their state remained on the relatively low level of socialism, and they never

We have reached the end of our journey, and we have arrived at no pleasant place. It is in fact a place of public execution. Yet all human roads lead here in the end. This is the capital of the kingdom of free men; and there, ruling from the gallows, is the King.

reached the concept of private property and individualism. An elaborate bureaucracy (1,331 administrators for every 10,000 citizens) managed a planned economy; everyone was counselled and supervised from the cradle to the grave; and the welfare state effectively prevented (as all welfare states must) the development of individual intelligence. Mr. von Hagen has given us a systematic and lucid account of institutions of particular significance to us, who live in an age overshadowed by our intellectuals' atavistic yearning for a return to more primitive and barbarous forms of society.

R. P. OLIVER

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND PRIVATE EDUCATION, by Arthur S. Miller (University of North Carolina, \$3.50). Anyone who thinks that private schools are the solution to the segregation vs. integration question had better read this little book. Law Professor Miller makes it clear that, according to existing legal theory, the Supreme Court would compel integration in the private schools if the Southern states abolished their public school systems. There are even hints that federal bayonets might move in on private schools in states that integrate public education. Professor Miller sees nothing wrong in all this, and himself goes along with the abolition of individual property rights in favor of sociological dogmas about the "social right" of government to compel people to be educated in the way government prescribes.

M. N. ROTHBARD

THE MAKING OF THE AUDEN CANON, by Joseph Warren Beach. (University of Minnesota, \$4.75). In 1945, at the age of 38, W. H. Auden offered the world his *Collected Poetry*. This is

Mr. Beach's "Auden canon," and the point of his study is to trace the nearly twenty-year course by which Auden's thinking moved from a chummy pink to a lonely indigo; from a never very comfortable left-wing Liberalism to an often theatrical right-wing anarchism; from the "selfish pink old liberal" he called himself in 1936, to the earnest questioner of "all the liberal values" which he had become in the forties. What troubles Mr. Beach is the fact that as Auden's views changed, he revised many of his early poems to suit his later convictions, reprinting them in 1945 with different titles, significant omissions, and sometimes radically opposite meanings—but without any warning to the reader. Mr. Beach thinks this was devious; but I'm afraid I found Mr. Beach himself a bit devious here. After all, revision is always a poet's right. It is never his obligation to hunt with the hounds and explain what he is up to. Though Mr. Beach will not acknowledge it, I couldn't help wondering if it were not simply Auden's "post-liberal" values he really objected to, and not at all the mere fact that his poems had been used to express them.

R. P. OLIVER

LOW LEVEL MISSION, by Leon Wolff (Doubleday, \$4.50). It would be difficult to write a bad book about the Ploesti raid. The drama and suspense of that daring fiasco make a story that cannot be much hurt in the telling. But Mr. Wolff comes as close to botching the job as he can by prefacing his story with several chapters of bogus history, and ending with another equally superficial in its conclusions. In between, however, is a fascinating picture of giant, unwieldy bombers flying so low that cornstalks caught in bomb bays, and oil and even blood replaced seared paint. Incredible blunders and bad luck made this expenditure of bravery fail in its purpose and possibility—to shorten the war. But later and less costly raids achieved the result: the Luftwaffe, at the end, was unable to fly even the jets for which we had no match. They had no oil.

J. P. MCFADDEN

To the Editor

Mr. Lusk Objects

In your issue of November 2, Revilo Oliver reviews *Man: His First Million years*.

In concluding, Mr. Oliver makes the following statement: "But Dr. Montague, after making a great show of cautious objectivity, proclaims that 'anthropologists are unable to find any evidence' of 'significant difference in mental capacity' between 'ethnic groups.' If you can tell such whoppers with a straight face, you too can ask the 'United Nations' to recognize your right to largesse from the pockets of American taxpayers."

If this statement is a "whopper" can you please tell me the scientific basis for Mr. Oliver's contention that it is?

I recently wrote to a leading editor of a Southern newspaper who is regarded as a leader in the segregation movement and received the reply that "the question of intermarriage is an emotional one."

Huron, S.D.

ROBERT D. LUSK
Editor, *The Daily Plainsman*

Mr. Oliver Replies

In my review I alluded to one of the thousands of data which prove the mental inferiority of the lower forms of human life: that of the Australian aborigines who never suspected that pregnancy might be a consequence of sexual intercourse. . . .

Although the question of marriage between whites and Negroes was not mentioned in my review, Mr. Lusk quite properly raised it, since such miscegenation is, of course, the goal of the people who subsidize the telling of whoppers about anthropology.

Mr. Lusk is quite correct in his implication that the opposition miscegenation is emotional, not scientific. As Diogenes of Sinope pointed out long ago, emotional prejudices, not scientific fact, are responsible for the reluctance of many people to countenance miscegenation, incest and cannibalism. Diogenes was right. Although research in genetics has made it virtually certain that intellectual capacities and instincts are hereditary, it cannot be shown that miscegenation and incest necessarily produce bio-

logical degeneration, and, in any event, it is certain that individuals cannot be affected by what happens to their posterity.

On the subject of anthropophagy the scientific evidence is clear and decisive: human flesh is highly nutritious and easily digested. It is true that some persons believe that they would not find it to their taste, but this prejudice could surely be overcome by an educational program in our schools.

Urbana, Ill.

REVILO P. OLIVER

"Ghana to Breakfast," cont'd

Sabine Perrot's letter in the November 23 issue quite correctly calls the turn on the editorial ["Ghana to Breakfast"] in the October 26 issue. . . .

Nonetheless, the Perrot letter is . . . wrong in the idea that racial antagonism is less dangerous in the North than in the South. The facts are quite the contrary, for the South's approach to the colored problem is at least realistic, and the problem is real, not philosophical. It may have been that Southern whites were "sluggish" during the Reconstruction Era, but this tragic period was declining rapidly in importance until 1954 and 1957. What happens in the future will depend largely on whether or not Northern politicians have found that the customs and manners of a nation are not fit subject for legal prescription.

But regardless of what we in America do, the answers concern us, and they are ours to find. . . . The world will respect us if we show a determination to solve our own problems, and wish no less to force a Pax Eisenhower on the South than we do a Pax Americana on the rest of the world.

DR. ROBERT J. NEEDLES

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Sputnik and Basic Research

Your editorial "Catechism on Basic Research" [November 23] was disappointing to this subscriber. I am a chemist engaged in basic research . . . and must take issue with you on two points:

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1. Tying basic research to practical objectives does not in any way cause the abandonment of basic research. The key to this problem rests in good management which can assess the possible benefits of several different approaches to a given problem.

2. Your statement that the launching of the satellite was a triumph of applied research is probably true, but there is an excellent chance that it was made possible by the application of basic knowledge which we might not have. This might well be the case if they are using a new type of fuel which we do not have or have not learned to control.

... NATIONAL REVIEW can perform a public service by doing one or more of the following:

1. Urging that government scientists be put in a separate Civil Service category to distinguish them from clerks and other non-technical employees. This would help the morale of a surprising number of researchers who resent the "one-class" category we now have.

2. Making known the disparity between average government salaries

for scientists and those paid by industries. . . .

3. Urging relief for companies which expend a certain minimum amount toward basic studies in their own fields of endeavor or in others. In this way a more balanced nation-wide program of research would be anticipated.

Many of us in science are glad to see an interest in basic research but the possibility exists that this public concern will result in a great shower of money scattered to the four winds, in which case it would be most unproductive. The military, often as the result of congressional whims, has been guilty in the past of on-again off-again research. . . .

Washington, D.C. PATRICK J. HANNAN

Scientific Mal-Advisers?

Last week Dr. Edward Teller testified that our scientific advisors turned thumbs down on ICBM after World War II, because we hadn't developed a nuclear warhead with which to arm it. In 1954 he testified these same scientists opposed his efforts to make a nuclear H-bomb.

The scientists seemed to think that both the chicken and the egg should come last. How about some new scientific advisers?

New York City

ALFRED KOHLBERG

Babbitt on Social Justice

The quotation from Dean Burgess, on the Supreme Court and "Social Justice" in the November 2 issue, was instructive. May I suggest another quotation on the same subject?

In 1924 Irving Babbitt wrote in *Democracy and Leadership*: "Many people are aware that personal liberty and the security of private property, which is almost inseparable from it, are closely bound up with the fortunes of the Supreme Court. Their ideas are, however, often vague as to the nature of the menace that overhangs our highest tribunal. We are familiar with the rant of Gompers and his kind against the courts; we also know what to expect from the radical press . . . A menace that is perhaps more serious than this open hostility may be defined as a sort of 'boring from within.' This phrase seems to fit the professors in our law schools who are departing from the traditional standards of the law in favor of 'social justice.'"

Norrköping, Sweden

FOLKE LEANDER

Education in our Schools

Several of us just had the pleasure of perusing Miss Isabel Paterson's article in the November 30 NATIONAL REVIEW, entitled "Learning to Read: Child's Play." It pictures very effectively the existing situation in most of our public schools regarding the teaching of reading. Miss Paterson's style of presentation, so nicely flavored with irony, is extremely clever. Heartiest congratulations! Let us hope that many of your readers will use their influence in the direction of getting education put back into our schools.

New York City

WILLFORD I. KING

Intellectual Arrogance

I enjoyed reading the excellent piece by George Gent on Dr. Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College [November 23]. I am forever amazed at the arrogance of such "men of intellect," who sweep into oblivion the noble traditions of mankind. . . .

Brooklyn, N.Y.

HARRY S. GEORGE

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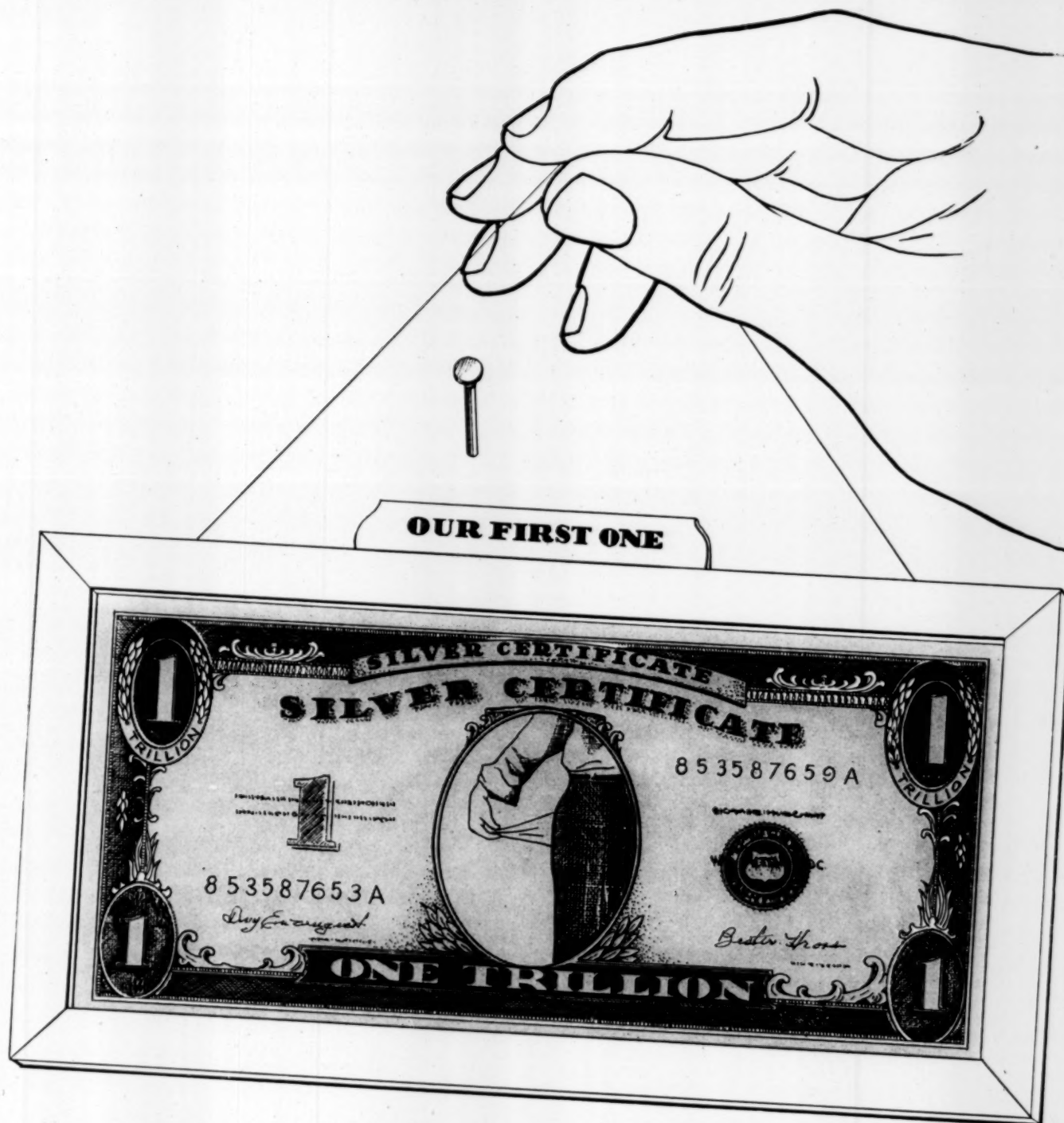
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"No!" says

TEX McCRARY

... nationally known journalist, publicist
and Eisenhower supporter



... and business is picking up

If you think the trillion dollar bill above is a joke, ask officials of the U.S. Treasury Department. They recently spent the trillionth federal tax dollar. It took 166 years. But at the rate they're going now, the second trillion will be framed in just 14 more years according to government experts. Business is picking up!

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